

PDF hosted at the Radboud Repository of the Radboud University Nijmegen

This full text is a publisher's version.

For additional information about this publication click this link.

<http://hdl.handle.net/2066/14637>

Please be advised that this information was generated on 2014-11-11 and may be subject to change.

Language Contact and Grammatical Coherence
Spanish and Quechua in the Wayno of Southern Peru

Pieter Muysken
Universiteit van Amsterdam
July 1990

For Gloria and Gabriel Escobar

"Wherever men have trodden
they have left behind a trail of song"
Bruce Chatwin, The Songlines

When two language systems come into contact with each other, the possibilities for integration of both systems, or parts of these, are limited by the fact that the systems in themselves are more or less coherent. A grammar is not a bag of tricks, an unorganized assembly of individual expressions. Neither is it a monolithic block, however, as the mixing resulting from language contact shows.

The major structural question then in language contact studies is the nature and degree of the coherence of grammars. This complex issue involves a number of specific questions, which this paper will address but not answer fully. I approach these questions by looking at a type of bilingual language use which is particularly rich in language mixing: the texts of several hundred bilingual songs, sung dances actually, from Southern Peru, the so-called wayno's. There are different attractive aspects to the investigation of this type of material: in the first place they constitute bilingual language data that are immediately available (in the form of published, reasonably reliable transcripts by ethnographers and folklorists). In the second place we find, due to the more intensive appeal to the poetic and expressive functions of language, more extreme cases of language mixing than in most instances of ordinary daily language use.

The songs cannot be seen as representative for that daily language use but form as it were a view through a magnifying glass of the possibilities contained in language use. Finally it is possible to place the songs in a specific socio-cultural context that can give insight into the sociolinguistic meaning of language mixing phenomena. [It should be stressed that these songs reflect popular culture rather than conscious literary creation. Most authors of wayno's are amateur musicians, and they rely on a canon of themes, turns of phrase, expressions, that they transform for the purpose of the particular song at hand.]

There are a number of other cases of language mixing in songs. French and English creole (or related language forms) are mixed in the calypso's of Trinidad and St. Lucia. There is extensive mixing in Spanish-Arabic medieval poetry, and High- and Low-German are mixed in medieval poetry from the Rhineland and the Low Countries. Rik Boeschoten pointed out to me that Weinreich (1950) had worked on Yiddish mixed songs, but I have not yet been able to find this contribution, written in Yiddish. The multitude and diversity of bilingual songs and poems in different languages offers very rich material for a comparative study of both the grammatical and the socio-cultural aspects of this type of language mixing.

1. Questions for research

The complex issue of the coherence of languages can be approached from a number of perspectives. I will mention three.

1.1 The source of the coherence

Is coherence of languages due to the sociolinguistic fact that

they function as symbolic systems expressive of the integrity of speech communities, or is it due to restrictions imposed by the nature of grammars as computational systems and by the human speech production and perception mechanism? The type of material studied here allows one to make a distinction, in principle, between what is possible and what is recurrent, and hence between cohesion due to social convention and cohesion due to properties of the mental system involved as such.

1.2 The demarcation problem

Is it possible to distinguish different types of 'language mixing' or different levels at which languages interact (for instance borrowing and code-switching)? Some people have claimed that because the empirical data (for instance a transcription of recorded bilingual language use) do not always allows us to make a distinction for each single switch it is better to drop the conceptual distinction between borrowing and code-switching and to speak about 'interference' in general.

Although many more phenomena are involved in the demarcation problem, I will limit myself to the distinction word borrowing/code switching. In the case of word borrowing foreign words are adopted in the lexicon. In the case of code switching two grammars and vocabularies are used in producing a sentence or a text. On that level of abstraction the distinction is clear, and subsequently leads to the following diagnostic criteria (see e.g. Poplack & Sankoff, 1984):

		borrowing	code-switching
		-----	-----
not more than one word		+	±
adaptation:	phonological	?	?
	morphological	±	-
	syntactic	+	-
frequent use		+	-
replaces own word		+	-
recognized as own word		+	-
semantic change		±	-

On the basis of these criteria it is easy to characterize autootje in (2) as a borrowing:

- (2) Wat een te gek autootje (pronounced: [awto:ty@])
What a terrific car.

It is only one word, it is pronounced with a Dutch diphthong, it has the Dutch diminutive suffix and the specifically Dutch neutral gender. It is used very frequently and it is word used most into order to refer to cars. It is probably recognized as Dutch by most speakers, and though it has not undergone any

semantic changes that could easily have been the case. There is also a more 'French' pronunciation, however, the slightly more posh [o:to:], but that fits perfectly within the Dutch phonological system as well.

Compare in contrast a sentence with code-switching such as (3):

- (3) Ze geven niet ge- uh .. niet genoeg pour cette jeun..
jeunesse
They do not give enough for this ... youth.
(recorded in Brussels by J. Treffers; see Treffers, 1986, forthcoming)

Neither morphologically, nor phonologically, nor semantically the French fragment has become part of the Dutch lexicon. While the contrast between (2) and (3) is clear both conceptually and empirically, there turn out to be lots of doubtful cases; I will return to this issue below.

1.3 The constraints problem

Do constraints due to grammatical coherence hold for all types of language contact? One possible perspective could be that code-switching is subject to constraints but borrowing is free. Here I will argue the opposite. In order to be able to maintain this the notion of borrowing needs to be redefined, split up in a number of components. Furthermore it will need to be clear that the way in which grammatical coherence constrains the diverse phenomena of language mixing is different.

Not all types of borrowing, and not all forms of code-switching turn out to occur. Perhaps it is possible to formulate grammatical constraints on both processes. In the literature we can find a number of proposals to this effect, but these are generally thought of as being of a very different nature for both processes.

For borrowing constraints are often formulated in terms of a categorial hierarchy: words of one specific lexical category can be borrowed more easily than those of another. An example of such a hierarchy is (4), partly based on Haugen (1950):

- (4) N - A - V - P - Adv - Neg - Conj - Pron - COMP - ...

N = noun
A = adjective
V = verb
P = preposition
Adv = adverb
Neg = negation element
Conj = coordinating conjunction
Pron = pronoun
COMP = subordinating conjunction

Such hierarchies predict that a noun such as French auto can be borrowed more easily than a conjunction such as que, and this

prediction holds reasonably well in the very extreme cases. The problem, however, with a hierarchy such as (4) is that there is no explanation given for the order of the lexical categories in the hierarchies. In addition, there are very striking language-specific deviations, as it turns out.

With regard to code-switching there is much less of a consensus in the literature. There is a large number of proposals in the literature; I will limit myself to those formulated in terms of linear and of structural constraints:

(5) a. linear: switching is allowed when the orders of both languages are respected (Poplack, 1980);

b. structural: switching is allowed when the demands of grammatical coherence of both languages are respected (DiSciullo, Muysken & Singh, 1986)

There is a possibility to relate the constraints on both processes of mixing by appealing to the general grammatical notion of coherence. When we assume that in the case of code-switching paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations need to be maintained as in (5b). In the case of borrowing syntagmatic relations need to be maintained in the system, because elements with valency (verbs and prepositions) can be integrated less easily than elements without valency (nouns and adjectives). The paradigmatic relations in the system must be maintained so that function words, that are defined in terms of a feature system (this/that/these/those), can be borrowed more difficultly than content words (cf. Muysken, 1981). The notion of coherence enables us to explain the hierarchy in (4) and to relate it to (5b). In addition, we can relate this to (5a) in so far as word order is determined by coherence, for example if it is imposed by the direction into which the verb assigns case.

2. The wayno

Wayno's are sung and played both in the towns and in the countryside. It is popular music, and there are radio stations that predominantly transmit wayno's. In fact they form a pervasive feature of Andean popular culture and are very much part of the baggage of peasant migrants to large cities such as Lima and Arequipa. Wayno lyrics often deal with romantic love and its disillusion, but also with soccer teams, local events, religious practices, etc. The sung texts are accompanied by a little orchestra of about five instruments, partly traditional Indian, partly Spanish. Instruments include: drums, string instruments, flutes.

A typical example of the text of a wayno is that of the very well known Valicha, of which I have presented the second half here, part of which is in Quechua and which ends in Spanish:

chay lisa p'asnari	that audacious girl,
sapanka kwartilkunatas	all garrisons
ninuchay, dibiras	my child, truly,
sapallan tukunqa	she can handle by herself

saracha parway, parwaschay, sarachay	
	corn flower, flower, cornlet,
trigucha iray, iraschay, triguschay	
	little wheat thrashing floor,

hermosa flor de la sierra	
	marvellous flower of the mountains
jilguero andino	
	Andean thistle finch
por valles, montes, quebradas	
	through valleys, slopes, ravines
cholita cusqueña	
	cholita from Cusco
que estarás haciendo?	
	what would you be doing? #213

This study is based on the collection gathered and transcribed by the antropologist-folklorist couple Gloria and Gabriel Escobar (1981), which includes 232 wayno's that they label as Quechua, and 111 that they label as Spanish. Although there are a number of other collections, including Roel Pineda (1959), Quijada Jara (1957), Holzmann (1964), and Montoya, Montoya, and Montoya (1987), and in addition wayno's are included in sources such as d'Harcourt and d'Harcourt (1925), Uhle and Kelm (1968), Arguedas (1949) and Farfán (1952), none of these sources matches Escobar and Escobar (1981) in the combination of completeness and regional focus.

A potential drawback of the source I used is that no music is given, only lyrics, and relatively little ethnographic information is presented regarding circumstances of performance, authors, etc. Since I feel competent to deal only with some of the grammatical aspects of the material included, I accept these limitations, and refer the reader to the other sources listed. Since I am interested in establishing numerical regularities, a large sample is important to the research in the present paper. I have considered combining texts from several sources, but felt that then the geographical, sociolinguistic and ethnographic heterogeneity, already present in Escobar and Escobar (1981), of the wayno's would become too large. The collection, which was put together primarily on the basis of esthetic criteria, is based on a number of sources:

- printed collections, often with a very limited local circulation as cancioneros, including Roel Pineda (1959), but going back to the beginning of this century;
- manuscript collections of earlier wayno enthusiasts;
- transcripts of live recordings, radio broadcasts, and records.

The authors acknowledge that some of the songs may not originate

from the Cuzco area, but in all cases only wayno's are included that they have heard perform repeatedly at Cuzco fiestas and that are felt to be part of the culture of the Cuzco region.

The collection of wayno lyrics shows to what extent Quechua and Spanish are intermingled with each other in the wayno's. Quechua is the traditional language of a large part of the Indian peasant population of the Andes, and Spanish is the colonial language, now also the politically dominant one.

Table 1 is based on the first 100 wayno's labelled 'Quechua' by Escobar & Escobar (1981):

35	Quechua	6 without borrowing 29 with borrowing
12	Quechua and Spanish apart in separate couplets	
20	Quechua and Spanish in a single couplet	
3	Quechua and mixed form apart	
17	Quechua and mixed form in a single couplet	
13	Quechua, Spanish, and mixed form	

TABLE 1 Language Use in the First 100 Wayno's Labelled Quechua

Of the 100 wayno's there were only six pure Quechua. In 29 cases the Quechua contained words borrowed from Spanish, and in no less than 20 Spanish and Quechua were used in a single couplet. Furthermore many texts contain sentences with such heavy borrowing and so many grammatical irregularities that they cannot be classified unambiguously as either Quechua and labelled 'mixed form' here. I will return to the phenomena involved shortly. A slightly different picture emerges for the wayno's labelled 'Spanish' by Escobar & Escobar. Consider table 2:

81	Spanish (with occasional established borrowings from Quechua)	
10	Spanish with Quechua <u>ay</u> address forms	
3	Spanish with interposed Quechua sentences	
4	Spanish with Quechua exclamations	
6	Spanish with Quechua phrases	
7	Quechua and Spanish apart in separate couplets	

TABLE 2 Language Use in the 111 Wayno's Labelled Spanish

Here the input from Quechua is clearly less than there was input from Spanish in the above category. Notice, however, that the categorization by Escobar & Escobar was ad hoc. The only thing we can conclude is that wayno's labelled 'Spanish' by the anthologists are more frequently purely Spanish than wayno's labelled 'Quechua' are purely Quechua. This asymmetry may reflect the dominant position of Spanish over Quechua in Peruvian society.

It is clear that the wayno's form the expression of a bilingual culture, in which processes of mixing play an important role. The question here is how this mixing occurs in the wayno's. From a sociolinguistic perspective there has only been work by Hart-Gonzalez (1979) regarding this form of popular songs. From the anthropological perspective there is particularly the valuable work by Mannheim (1986a,b, 1987), to which I will return below.

3. The Poetics of Bilinguality

An important question at this point is to what extent particular characteristics of the language sample involved, i.e. bilingual songs, play a role in determining the type of language mixing we find. The answer is: considerably. Even a cursory examination of the materials shows that the contrast between Quechua and Spanish is used in various ways to create special poetic effects. Below we will return in much more detail to code-switching and borrowing; here we will look at a series of phenomena which cannot be categorized as ordinary instances of either process.

A number of bilingual linguistic features of the wayno's can be related to their being a specific linguistic genre:

3.1 The vocabulary of romantic love

The first thing that strikes us when we consider the type of Spanish vocabulary borrowed and occurring in the segments of the wayno's classified as Quechua is the large number of items relating directly to romantic love and its trappings, the central theme of the wayno's. Of the 63 Spanish lexical items that occur in the Quechua texts of 4 wayno's or more, no less than 56 belong to the Spanish vocabulary associated with romantic love. I have arranged these in five categories, and given the number of wayno's in which they occur in parentheses.

First of all, a large number are self-explanatory:

(6) Love and relationships

amor	(6)	amor	love
bida	(32)	vida	life
			(life before I met you)
			(our life together)
			(my life without you)
brasu	(13)	brazo	arm .
			(in your arms)

gusta-	(4)	gustar	(in the arms of another)
gustu	(5)	gusto	like
kadina	(4)	cadena	with pleasure
			chain
			(the chain that links us)
			(the little chain I gave you)
kariñu	(4)	cariffo	affection
mula	(6)	mula	mule, concubine
nigra	(11)	negra	dark woman, beloved
ñiña/niña	(8)	niña	girl
paris	(5)	* par, pareja	pair, couple
samba	(8)	samba	dark woman, beloved
siñurita	(5)	señorita	miss
sultira	(13)	soltera	maiden
sultiru	(6)	soltero	bachelor

An important theme is the rendez-vous, often unbeknownst to the parents of the girl:

(7) Meeting you somewhere

guitarra	(4)	guitarra	guitar
			(for the serenade)
iskina	(6)	esquina	corner
istrilla	(4)	estrella	star
			(under the stars)
kalli	(10)	calle	street
ladu	(6)	lado	side
			(on the other side)
			(next to the church)
pasiya-	(4)	pasar	go out
plasa	(11)	plaza	square
silba-	(4)	silbar	whistle
tinda	(4)	tienda	store
tuka-	(6)	tocar	play
			(while serenading)
			(the bells ring)
tupa-	(20)	topar	meet
ura	(10)	hora	hour
wirta	(4)	huerta	garden

Less prominent is a possible resulting wedding:

(8) Getting married

anillu	(8)	anillo	ring
dispusa-	(4)	desposar	marry, betroth
kasadu	(5)	casado	married (masc.)
kasara-	(8)	casar	get married
kura	(5)	cura	priest
siñur kura	(4)	señor cura	mister priest
suygra	(5)	suegra	mother-in-law

Rather frequent, unfortunately, is rejection by the beloved one or cruel deception, which results in misery and drinking:

(9) Sadness of separation

binu	(4)	vino	wine
------	-----	------	------

bulta-	(13)	voltar	turn, return (I return to my village)
ingaña-	(6)	engañar	cheat, deceive
karsil	(6)	carcel	prison
kupa	(4)	copa	cup
maris	(6)	mares	seas (I cry seas over you)
pantiyun	(4)	panteón	graveyard (where I meditate)
pasa-	(52)	pasar	pass, go away
pubri	(14)	pobre	poor (poor me)
phalta-	(4)	faltar	be absent, be lacking
sulu-	(5)	solo	alone
surti	(4)	suerte	fate
tragu	(8)	trago	liquor (the last resort)
tuma-	(18)	tomar	drink

There is very complex imagery, which is difficult to grasp for me at this point, of vegetational symbols, many of which involve Quechua vocabulary. The frequent Spanish words in this group are in (10):

(10) Harvest, fruit, and flower symbols for love and loves			
durasnu	(7)	durazno	peach
habas	(5)	habas	lima beans
kulur	(4)	color	color (of flowers, skirts, etc.)
lambran	(4)	lambran	kind of tree
mansana	(10)	manzana	apple
muradu	(6)	morado	violet
naranxa	(7)	naranja	orange
tribul	(4)	trebol	clover
trigu	(9)	trigo	wheat

Seven highly frequent items are not as directly related to the theme of love, although in many cases they also have to do with the same theme (... would you rather love me or the farm owner ...?):

(11) Other borrowed items that occur in four or more wayno's			
asinda	(4)	hacienda	farm
duyñu	(4)	dueño	master
karru	(4)	carro	car
midiyu	(6)	medio	nickle
ni	(7)	ni	neither .. nor ..
piru	(6)	pero	but
sabi-	(8)	saber	know

In summary, the theme of the wayno's has lead to a very specific language use, as far as borrowing is concerned. Notice that romantic love as such is not limited to Spanish culture and vocabulary; indeed, there is an extensive Quechua vocabulary of affection and romance. The way that the theme is treated in the wayno's, however, is as if there has been a curious inversion:

surely exchanging rings and vows, writing love letters, serenading, crying underneath weeping willows, visiting the tomb stone of the beloved one, these are themes deriving from the Spanish romantic tradition, treated in Quechua and transformed in the process (although it remains to be established precisely which Spanish thematic roots the wayno has and how the Spanish themes were altered).

3.2 Replacement of Quechua core vocabulary in semantic doubling

The most striking phenomenon, poetically, in the wayno's is what Mannheim (1986a,b; 1987) has called 'semantic doubling': the use of Quechua/Spanish doublets through relexification. Here the equivalent Spanish form is preceded by the Quechua form:

- (12) yacharankitaq if only you knew
sabirankitaq if only you knew #29

In (12) yacha- is the Quechua word for 'know' and sabi- the Spanish word. In the same vein sapa- in (13) is the Quechua word for 'alone' and sulu- the Spanish word. In both cases the Spanish word is used morphologically and syntactically in the same way as the Quechua word. Quechua sapa-, for instance, cannot be used without person inflection, and Spanish sulu-, which ordinarily occurs by itself, also occurs with the first person marker -y (in addition to accusative -ta):

- (13) sapa-y-ta rikuwashaspa when you are seeing me alone
sulu-y-ta rikuwashaspa when you are seeing me alone #62

Semantic doubling - a kind of semantic rhyme, Mannheim argues, since in Quechua phonological rhyme is trivial given the rich suffixal morphology which allows one to make everything rhyme - involves nouns as well as verbs. It is in no way limited to Quechua/Spanish pairs; many doublets indeed involve two Quechua nouns or verbs, and some even two Spanish borrowings.

I will focus here, however, on the cases involving a verb. We saw in the previous section that Spanish verbs such as sabi- 'know' and pasa- 'pass, go away' are quite frequent in the Quechua segments of the wayno's. To what extent do they participate in semantic doubling? A Spanish verb such as sabi- 'know', which occurs in 8 wayno's, is always part of a doublet, the Quechua verb yacha- preceding. For verbs which occur in 3 wayno's or less, however, the picture is different:

=====	
no doublet	50
Spanish doublet	11
Quechua doublet	27

TABLE 3 Doubling with Spanish Verbs that Occur in 3 Wayno's or Less

=====

In calculating Table 3 I have been fairly liberal in counting Quechua verbs as a doublet; often there was no direct meaning correspondence, not even in the sense that the first item was less specific in meaning than the second item, as Mannheim assumed to be the case. However, it may be that the semantic markedness that Mannheim refers to is but a specific instance of a more general requirement that the second member of the doublet be more marked than the first one, and that being a borrowing is also a marked feature of a lexical item.

The verbs which occur in 4 wayno's or more merit a closer examination. As it turns out, they differ considerably in the extent to which they participate in semantic doubling, while the number of occurrences with a Quechua doublet is considerably larger than with the first category.

=====	
no doublet	63
Spanish doublet	6
Quechua doublet	76
Quechua second or third verb	31
Spanish second verb	4

TABLE 4 Doubling with Spanish Verbs that Occur in 4 Wayno's or More

=====

Notice that a number of borrowings do not occur as the second member but as the first member of the doublet. If the reasoning given above concerning the marked status of borrowings and Mannheim's assumption about the unmarked status of the first member of the doublet is correct, this should be an indication of integration into Quechua. This seems correct, intuitively, for tuma- 'drink' and tupa- 'meet', but perhaps not for silba- 'whistle'. These three verbs, of Spanish origin, are shown in Table 5 to occur frequently as the first member of a doublet or triplet.

In Table 5 the verbs are roughly ordered with respect to their having a Quechua doublet in the wayno's:

=====		
borrowed verb	Quechua double	# of cases

sabi- 'know'	yacha- 'know'	8
bulta- 'return'	kuti- 'return'	12
	qhipa-yu- 'stay behind'	1

pasa- 'pass'	0	17
	(bida pasa- 'live'	7)
	ri-pu- 'go away'	33
	puri- 'walk'	3
	2nd ri-pu- 'go away'	3
	2nd suwa- 'steal'	1
	2nd chimpa- 'cross'	1
	2nd puri- 'walk'	1
	2nd llaki- 'suffer'	1
	2nd S sufri- 'suffer'	1
pasiya- 'go out'	0	1
	puri- 'walk'	2
	2nd puri- 'walk'	1
silba- 'whistle'	waqa- 'cry, weep, call'	1
	S bati- 'beat'	1
	2nd muna- 'want'	1
	3rd wayllu- 'love'	1
	2nd willa- 'tell'	1
	3rd qapari- 'cry'	1
	2nd qapari- 'cry'	1
tuma- 'drink'	0	12
	uxya- 'drink'	2
	mikhu- 'eat'	1
	puri- 'walk'	1
	ri- 'go'	1
	2nd uxya- 'drink'	5
	2nd hich'a- 'pour'	1
	2nd macha- 'get drunk'	1
	2nd S fuma- 'smoke'	1
tupa- 'meet'	0	7
	riku- 'see'	1
	maylli- 'taste'	2
	chaya- 'reach'	1
	puri- 'walk'	1
	2nd tinku- 'meet'	6
	2nd riku- 'see'	2
	2nd S? parla- 'speak'	1
tuka- 'play'	0	4
	waqa- 'cry'	1
	2nd waqa- 'cry'	1
phalta- 'lack'	0	4
	pisi- 'lack'	1
	2nd pisi- 'lack'	1
sirbi- 'serve'	0	2
	uywa- 'care for'	1
	S kasadu 'married'	1

dispusa- 'betroth'	0	1
S kasara- 'marry'		2
S kumpaña- 'accompany'		1
gusta- 'like'	0	3
taki- 'sing'		1
macha- 'get drunk'		1
2nd kawsarichi- 'revive'		1
ingaña- 'cheat'	0	4
nispalla ni- 'just talk'		1
2nd. S trayshuna- 'betray'		1
kasara- 'marry'	0	8
S kasaditu 'married'		1

TABLE 5 Detailed Analysis of Occurrences of Doubling with Spanish Verbs that Occur in 4 Wayno's or More

0 = not part of doublet

S = Spanish origin

2nd = second member of semantic doublet or triplet

3rd = third member of semantic triplet

=====

The reader may wonder why a number of cases have been counted as instances of semantic doubling even though there is very little semantic relation between the verbs involved, as with maylli- 'taste' and tupa- 'meet'. The answer is that the parallel structure of the verses and the morphology of the verbs concerned, imposed such an analysis:

- (14) mayun apamusqa, misk'i naranxata,
 the river brought a sweet orange
 mana maylliykuspa, warmanayan rayku,
 not tasting it, because of its beloved
 mana tupaykuspa, warmanayan rayku.
 not meeting it, because of its beloved
 #106

What is still needed is a much more precise semantic analysis of the verbs involved in terms of semantic features.

Before leaving the subject of semantic doubling, I should point out that all verbs discussed are fully integrated morphologically and phonologically. The verb sabi- 'know', for instance, which never occurs outside of a semantic doublet, has lost all of its Spanish irregular inflection. It can be identified as etymologically non-Quechua because of the b, but Quechua has now many borrowings with that consonant and is quite tolerant of it. In (15) the actual forms that sabi- takes in the texts are shown, together with that of its Quechua doublet yacha-; the endings are always identical:

- (15) yacha/sabi-lla-n-man 'if (s)he would know' #15
 yacha/sabi-ra-nki-taq 'you did know' #29
 yacha/sabi-ru-chun '(s)he should know' #34, #79
 yacha/sabi-na-y rayku 'because of me knowing' #44
 yacha/sabi-y-lla-wan 'with knowledge' #120
 yacha/sabi-lla-y-man 'if I only knew' #152
 yacha/sabi-y-lla yacha/sabi-y-man 'if known I had known' #153

3.3 Bilingual puns

An interesting, though not very frequent feature of the wayno's is bilingual punning. An example is (16):

- (16) sipiway sipiway strangle me, strangle me
 [con hilo de pita] with agave thread

 ni qanta ni pita so that neither you nor anyone
 hayk'aq munanaypaq I'll ever love #1

Here Spanish pita 'agave' sounds the same as Quechua pi-ta 'someone, accusative'.

An example given in the introduction by Escobar and Escobar is:

- (17) kaskarillaschay, maskarillaschay my little peel, my little mask
 sunquyki ukhupi maskarillaway just look for me in your heart
 #26

In the first line maskarillas 'my little mask' is Spanish, and in the second line maskarillaway 'just look for me' is Quechua. Similarly in the following example the verb siriri- is Quechua, meaning 'lie down', and sirina- is Spanish 'serenade':

- (18) hakuchu siriri-ykusun let's lie down
 hakuchu sirina-ykusun let's serenade #108

A slightly different effect occurs when Spanish words are made to sound alike when they are adapted to Quechua phonology, even though in Spanish they differ:

- (19) ay pisa pisacha oh piece little piece
 tukuyu pisa piece of cotton cloth
 maytan pisakuni how much it weighs on me
 qanwan kasqayta to have been with you #11

Here pisa in the first two lines is from Spanish pieza 'piece', while the verb pisa- in the third line is from Spanish pesar 'weigh'. In a slightly more oblique fashion, istira 'straw', which derives from Spanish estera, in the first line, is recalled by the verb istira- 'stretch', from Spanish estirar, in the second line:

- (20) Pirispa ususin istira sumbriru
Pillaraq, mayllaraq, istiraykusunki?
Perez' daughter, a straw hat
Whoever will stretch you and where?
#212

3.4 Heavy borrowing, with Quechua diminutive suffixes

In some wayno's fragments occur in which almost all words have been borrowed, and it appears sometimes as if the Spanish vocabulary forms a poetical element by itself:

- (21) traguchallay binuchallay my little drink, my wine
binti graduschallay of a little 20-proof
llakipipas phutipipas in sadness and misery
kumpaniruschallay my best little friends #9

Related to this is the borrowing of pseudo-forms with Spanish syntax. In the following example the frame yerba de ... 'herb of' is borrowed from Spanish, but hampitaqa 'medicine' is Quechua again:

- (22) yerba de hampitaqa medicinal herbs
t'ipisharan nispa she collects they say

3.5 Almost meaningless Spanish

(23) is an example of correct Spanish (with Quechua pronunciation), but for the sake of the internal rhyme sintu/
dusintus words are used with little meaning:

- (23) ay dibiras dibiras ay truly truly
lu sintu dusintus I am sorry two hundred

Something similar we find in (24) - meaningless Spanish quadrisyllabic loanwords with the Quechua endings -cha 'diminutive' and -y 'first person':

- (24) karitillaschay my little carts
ispiguillaschay my little spikes
karritiraschay my little roads
ispirillaschay my little waits #9

It seems as if the form of the Spanish words starts leading its own life here.

Further examples include good Spanish with fully Quechua pronunciation. All vowels are i, u, or a, diphthongs are simplified, etc.:

- (25) la sinta murada the purple ribbon
ki tinis kulur you that have colour
asi yu kuntigu so I with you
nu puydu kirir I cannot love

3.6 Summary

The above listing includes only some of the ways in which the fact that the songs are bilingual is made use of poetically. We see that the specific type of language use has significant consequences for the type of mixing found. In the next section we will see to what extent the fact that we are dealing with bilingual songs here, rather than with ordinary conversation, has consequences for the pattern of distribution of borrowings and code-switches.

4. Borrowing in the wayno's

The Quechua texts in the wayno's are replete with words borrowed from Spanish. Generally the words are fully adapted to Quechua morphologically (through agglutination), and phonologically as far as vowels are concerned. Vowel clusters and consonant clusters occur in various degrees of adaptation and reduction. An example is the Spanish verb voltar 'turn, return', which is borrowed in three ways:

- (26) bulta- in 5 wayno's
 buyilta- in 1 wayno
 buylta- in 7 wayno

Not only borrowings of a single word occur, but also of complex names:

- (27) yerba dil olbiduta herbs of forgetfulness
 pallarashan nispa she collects they say

Sometimes elements are borrowed as simplex words that form more than one word in Spanish. In (28) we find daliy, which consists of the Spanish verb plus pronoun combination da + le 'give him', followed by the Quechua imperative suffix -y.

- (28) daliy daliy karsiliru hit it, hit it, jailor

The use of Spanish frozen expressions is also seen with isusi and akistuy. The form isusi in (29) is derived from Spanish eso sí 'that yes':

- (29) isusi, isusi that yes, that yes
 mana pipas yachan nobody knows it

In (30) akistuy is derived from aquí estoy 'here I am':

- (30) akistuy mansana here I am, apple
 akistuy piristuy here I am, ready

When we classify the borrowings in the wayno's according to grammatical category, the main focus in this section, the absolute numbers of types of borrowed words is given in Table 6:

Nouns	430
Verbs	87
Adjectives	46
Adverbs	11
Exclamations	5
Coordinating conjunctions	4
Postpositions	3
Numerals	1

TABLE 6: Borrowed Words in the Wayno's; types

Table 6 shows among other things that conjunctions are borrowed relatively infrequently, and nouns relatively often. Thus the list in Table 6 corresponds reasonably with the hierarchy in (4).

There is a problem however with the method of calculation applied in Table 6: how do we know that there are not a whole lot of borrowed Spanish nouns because there are many nouns in any case? To obtain certainty about this for a smaller group of wayno's the percentage of borrowed elements in the total group of cases (tokens) is calculated, in Table 7:

	Quechua	Spanish	% Spanish
Numerals		1	100
Adjectives	6	4	40
Nouns	118	67	31
Verbs	155	19	11
Adverbs	8	1	11
Negating elements	32	2	6
Personal pronouns	13		0
Question words	21		0
Demonstratives	13		0
Conjunctions	1		0
Postpositions	1		0

TABLE 7: Borrowings in the First 10 Wayno's; Spanish Tokens as Percentage of Total Number of Tokens

The image that emerges from Table 7 does not diverge strongly from the categorial hierarchy in (4) (repeated here for the sake of convenience). Particularly the fact that nouns are borrowed more frequently than verbs is striking:

(4) N - A - V - P - Adv - Neg - Conj - Pron - COMP - ...

N = noun
A = adjective
V = verb
P = preposition
Adv = adverb
Neg = negation element
Conj = coordinating conjunction
Pron = pronoun
COMP = subordinating conjunction

Because of the limited sample the rank order cannot be taken very seriously. Particularly in order to say something sensible about the borrowability of function words much more extensive research is necessary. The fact that numerals and adjectives come before nouns can be an accident, a consequence of the limited sample. It should be noted that in Quechua numerals, adjectives and nouns all belong to the same morphological category. When we formulate constraints on borrowing in terms of the receiving language (and that is a fairly obvious move), then we arrive at the hierarchy in (31), on the basis of Table 7:

(31) NOMINAL V / Adv Neg rest

This hierarchy corresponds with that in (4), apart from the fact that there are no prepositions and conjunctions mentioned. Another way of approaching the issue at hand is through a method first applied for the Ottawa corpus in Poplack, Miller, and Sankoff (1988), where the categorial distribution for both categories was studied. Take first of all the data in Table 7:

	Quechua		Spanish	
Numerals			1	
Adjectives	6	.02	4	.04
Nouns	118	.32	67	.71
Verbs	155	.42	19	.20
Adverbs	8	.02	1	.01
Negating elements	32	.08	2	.02
Personal pronouns	13	.04		
Question words	21	.06		
Demonstratives	13	.04		
Conjunctions	1			
Postpositions	1			

TABLE 8: Borrowings in the First 10 Wayno's; Tokens in Quechua and Spanish in Percentages of the Total Number of Items in each Language

A similar result is obtained if we compare the categorial distribution of Spanish types with that of a representative selection of Quechua types:

=====				
	Quechua		Spanish	
Adjectives	9	.05	46	.08
Nouns	76	.41	430	.73
Verbs	70	.37	87	.15
Adverbs	7	.04	11	.02
Negating elements	2	.01		
Personal pronouns	3	.02		
Question words	5	.03		
Demonstratives	5	.03		
Conjunctions	1		4	.01
Postpositions	1			
Prepositions			3	
Numerals	2	.01	1	
Quantifiers	2	.01		
Exclamatives			5	.01

TABLE 9: All Spanish Borrowings in the Wayno's (Types) and all Quechua Types in the First 20 Wayno's; Percentages of the Total Number of Items in each Language

Again we notice the asymmetry between nouns and verbs. It is clear that the above tables show little light on some of the other categories, such as adjectives, conjunctions, and pre-/post-positions. These I will discuss now in separate sections.

4.1 Adjectives

Attributive adjectives in Quechua are pre-nominal and non-agreeing; in Spanish they are generally post-nominal and agreeing in gender and number. Of the 133 times a borrowed adjective was used the majority of cases involve non-attributive uses, as can be seen in Table 10:

=====		
Adverbial	- no suffix	4
	- suffix	17
Predicative	- no suffix	18
	- suffix	18
Independent	- no suffix	13
	- suffix	16

A ± agr	Nquechua	9
A +agr	N	5
A -agr	N	10
A ±agr	N	12
N A +agr		5
N A -agr		1
N A ±agr		5

TABLE 10: The Distribution of Borrowed Adjectives

=====

We will briefly focus now on the attributive cases. First of all, there are 5 cases of a borrowed adjective with Quechua word order and with Spanish concord. In (32) the adjective *amarga* 'bitter' precedes *vida* 'life', just like in Quechua, but it concords with it in gender and number, just like in Spanish:

- (32) *yuyarinkichu yuyarishanin* do you remember, I remember
amarga bida pasasqanchista the bitter life that we lead

However, Spanish word order and concord is equally frequent, as in (33). Given the pronunciation and the attachment of the first person suffix *-y* we are dealing here with a Quechua fragment, but in the second line of (33) we find Spanish word order and concord: both *uxa* and *ridunda* have the feminine ending:

- (33) *kuka kintuchay* my handful of coca
uxa ridunday my (coca) with a round leaf #34

Spanish word order and no concord is quite exceptional. *Jesús* in (34) is grammatically masculine, while *Santísima* has a feminine ending.

- (34) *Jesús Santísima* Holiest Jesus

Notice that the pattern is the most frequent where there is a pre-nominal adjective of which it cannot be determined whether it agrees (\pm agr) or whether it does not.

The exceptional status of non-agreeing post-nominal adjectives raises the issue of whether noun + post-nominal adjective combinations are not borrowed as blocks, and since this is hard to conceive of if we think of borrowing as a sub-lexical

phenomenon, whether we do not have cases of phonologically and morphologically adapted code-switches here. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that post-nominal adjectives occur almost exclusively with Spanish nouns. Consider examples such as (35):

- (35) sultira unrada-ta a chaste girl
 waqachiyman chaypas even if I made weep

Here the agreeing post-nominal adjective unrada 'chaste, honest' (Spanish honrada) has an adapted vowel (just as sultira 'girl', from soltera), and in addition it has Quechua accusative marking -ta. Alternatively, we would have to conceive of sultira unrada as an unanalyzed chunk, with idiom-like status. The limited number of cases makes it hard to come to a fixed conclusion.

4.2 Prepositions

In three cases Spanish prepositions are borrowed, which may be nearly impossible in spoken Quechua, which has only post-positions and case suffixes. In (36) we find borrowing of disdi 'since, from' in a couplet, and the occurrence of the same preposition desde in a code-switched line of the following couplet:

- (36) disdi warma-manta from childhood on
 yanayuq kanaypaq to have a lover

 [desde su palacio] from its palace
 gubirnu kamachikamun the government commands #91

In the first line of (36) disdi doubles with the Quechua case suffix -manta 'from', and the same thing occurs in (37), where para 'for' doubles with Quechua benefactive case -paq.

- (37) sipas kahtan nini, manas kuraqtachu I want the girl, not the oldest daughter
 para paya-paq-qa, wasiypipas kanmi as for old women, those I have at home
#106

Since the third borrowed preposition, kuntra 'against', is used adverbially, it need not concern us here. We can analyze (36) and (37) as cases where the Spanish preposition is simply added onto the Quechua syntactic structure, as a modifier, without creating structure of its own, perhaps.

4.3 Conjunctions

Similar problems arise with conjunctions. In Quechua coordination and subordination are generally expressed through enclitics. In addition there are a few sentence-final subordinating particles. In Spanish all sentence-linking is done through sentence-initial elements. As in many Amerindian languages, coordinating conjunctions are borrowed freely. An example of such a borrowed conjunction is piru in (38):

- (38) hina waqachun, hina ripuchun let him cry, let him go
piru ama nuqaq sutiypichu but not in my name

A potentially drastic adaptation to Spanish is constituted by the use of Spanish elements such as sentence introducing adverbs as conjunctions. In (39) siguru 'certain' occurs, and in (40) akasu 'perhaps, as if':

- (39) siguru manaña mamayqa kanchu
certain that I have no mother any more?
sigura taytayqa manaña kanchu
certain that I have no father any more?

- (40) akasu nuqapaq mansana phaltanchu
as if I lack apples
akasu nuqapaq sultira phaltanchu
as if I lack girls #48

In (41) a Spanish verb form, a ver 'let us see, to see' is used as a sentence introducing element:

- (41) chukchachaykita t'ipiykukuy
pull your little hair
awir manachus nanasunki
let's see if it does not hurt

In (42) finally we have the Spanish subordinating conjunction si 'if':

- (42) si-chus munawanki chayqa if you love me
si-chus waylluwanki chayqa if you care for me
[en prueba de tu cariño] as proof of your affection
kay kupata tumay drink this cup #89

The conjunction si always occurs with the enclitic -chus and three out of four cases with the sentence-final Quechua conjunction chayqa.

If coordinating elements can be seen as involving a discourse-strategy, then we can summarize that the introduction of Spanish conjunctions is either neutralized through doubling (as with si) or involves discourse particles.

5. Code-switching in the wayno's

From Tables 1 and 2 it is clear that there is frequent code-switching inside of a couplet between Spanish and Quechua. In fact, one wayno, #113 in the Escobar and Escobar collection, consists entirely of alternating Quechua and Spanish lines.

When we classify the switches grammatically (excluding adjectives, which were analyzed above under borrowing, and most intersentential switches where the relation between the sentences is loose) the following picture emerges:

=====	
between sentences	4
between exclamation and the rest of the sentence	2
between person addressed and sentence	31
of which addressee = Quechua 13	
= Spanish 18	
between verb and sentence in direct speech	10
of which quote = Quechua 8	
= Spanish 2	
between sentential adverb and sentence	2
between loose 'topic' and sentence	1

between sentence and prepositional phrase	
that expresses time, place, or instrument	40
between subject and the rest	3
between verb and direct object	6
between predicate NP and copula	1
between noun and modifier	13

TABLE 11: Code-switches Inside a Couplet

=====

In Table 11 the code-switchings are divided into two groups: a group in which the sentences in both languages remain relatively intact, and a group in which there is switching inside the sentence. Only switches of the second type are of interest to a theory of grammatical constraints on code-switching.

A number of cases of switching involving a prepositional phrase form a problem for a theory in terms of linear constraints: constituents that express instrument and place usually follow the verb in Spanish, and precede it in Quechua. Therefore (42), cited before, is a possible counterexample against a linear equivalence theory, while in (43) the order of both languages is respected:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| (42) | sipiway sipiway | strangle me, strangle me |
| | [con hilo de pita] | with agave thread |
| | ni qanta ni pita | so that neither you nor anyone |
| | hayk'aq munanaypaq | I'll ever love #1 |
| (43) | kaypi kanaykama | as long as I'll be here |
| | [contigo dormiré] | I'll sleep with you |

For a theory in terms of structural constraints neither example constitutes a problem: there is a modification relation between the prepositional phrases and the rest of the sentence rather than a dependency-relation. [Notice, however, that in both (42) and (43) the offending element constitutes a new line in the song; metric restrictions could be argued to be responsible for the possible violation.]

Examples in which there is a switch after the subject are no problem for the linear theory: in both languages the subject is initial. They are potential problematic cases for a structural theory, however: there is a dependency relation between subject and predicate, though this not directly one of lexical dependency. Example (44) is a case of switching after the subject:

- (44) paloma tocaza the torcaza dove
 marista waqashan cries seas

It is not completely clear whether the subject here is truly Spanish: the words are Spanish, but the article, necessary in this case, is lacking, so that we may have a complex borrowing here.

The six cases in which the direct object is in a different language from the verb are a big problem for a structural theory and for a linear theory. In Quechua the direct object precedes the verb, and in Spanish vice-versa. In addition there is a close dependency relation between both elements. The largest group, four cases, involves a Quechua verb followed by a Spanish object:

- (45) usqhay, usqhay quykullaway quick, quick give me
 [el veneno más activo] the strongest poison #37
- (46) aman urpichallay waqachiwankichu
 [esa prenda por ser mía] don't my little dove make cry
 this treasure that is mine #19
- (47) hayk'awanmi kutichiwanqa how will he return
 [cuarenta soles] gastasqayta the 40 soles that I spent #38
- (48) kariñuwancha kutichiwanqa with love then will he return
 [cuarenta soles] gastasqayta the 40 soles that I spent #38

The way to make (45) and (46) fall within the linear theory is by assuming that they are the result of extraposition of a heavy NP to the right, which is possible in many varieties of Quechua. Examples (47) and (48) are special in that the object cuarenta soles may need to be analyzed as the internal antecedent of a headless relative phrase formed with gastasqayta 'that I spent'. That would not make it less of a counter-example, but now of a different kind, similar to (49):

- (49) [el pañuelo que me diste] the handkerchief you gave me
 sida fina niwaranki fine silk you told me #125

traditional sense.

(c) Analysis of the categorial distribution of the borrowings showed the familiar patterns of asymmetry between nouns and verbs, between content words and function words. The introduction of alien new categories such as prepositions and sentence-initial conjunctions was shown to be infrequent and not disruptive of Quechua grammar. The introduction of adjectives is problematic; most occur in non-attributive position. Attributive adjectives tend to either form a unit, perhaps borrowed as a whole, with the noun they modify post-nominally, or fall into the Quechua pattern of non-agreeing pre-nominal adjectives.

(d) A preliminary analysis of the code-switches showed not unfamiliar patterns of distribution: frequent switches at the fringe of the sentences, including exclamations, quotes, persons addressed. Within the clause, frequent switches involving adverbial prepositional phrases.

(e) While code-switching and borrowing can be distinguished formally, e.g. through morphology, it is not the case in the wayno's that code-switching has a primarily symbolic function, e.g. marking a mixed cultural identity, and that borrowing can be seen as a form of simple vocabulary extension. Particularly in semantic doubling, [what must formally be characterized as] borrowed elements take on, at the sub-lexical level, certain of the discourse functions of code-switchings. [This result throws some light perhaps on the question of why 'nonce borrowings' are so controversial. In the perspective taken here they constitute a class of elements that formally should be grouped with borrowings, and functionally can, in certain circumstances, be grouped with code-switching, namely when the borrowing primarily has a symbolic function. Hence, having a separate theory for nonce borrowings and one for code-switches is problematic from a functionalist perspective.]

* A much earlier shorter version of this paper was presented in Dutch in Tilburg in 1986 and published in Extra et al. (1987). A brief Spanish version was presented in Leiden in (1988). I am grateful for all comments at these meetings, particularly from Willem Adelaar, Rik Boeschoten, and Juan Rivarola. In addition, Bruce Mannheim discussed a number of the issues involved with me. This version is identical to the one presented at the London workshop, except that a number of errors have been corrected at at some points extra text has been inserted, mainly for the sake of clarification. I am grateful to the participants in the workshop, and also to Vincent de Rooij, for comments.

Bibliography

Appel, Rene and Pieter Muysken (1987), *Language Contact*. London: Edward Arnold

Arguedas, José Maria (1949) *Canciones y cuentos del pueblo quechua*. Lima: Huascarán

DiSciullo, Anne-Marie, Pieter Muysken, and Rajendra Singh (1986), Govrnment and Code-Mixing. Journal of Linguistics 22: 1-24

Escobar, Gabriel and Gloria Escobar (1981), Huaynos del Cusco. Cusco, Peru: Editorial Garcilaso

Extra, Guus et al. (1987) Etnische minderheden: taalverwerving, taalonderwijs, taalbeleid. Dordrecht: Foris

Farfán, J.M.H. (1947-52) Colección de textos quechuas. Revista del Museo Nacional 16: 85-122, 17: 120-150, 18: 121-166, 19/20: 191-269

d'Harcourt, R. and M. (1925) La musique des Incas et ses survivances. Paris: Paul Geuthner. Vol. 1: Texte, Vol. 2: Planches

Hart-Gonzalez, Lucinda (1979), The Huaynito: a multilingual, multi-channel event. Manuscript, Georgetown University

Haugen, Einar (1950), The analysis of linguistic borrowing. Language 26: 210-231

Holzmann, Rodolfo (1964) Panorama de la música tradicional del Perú. Lima, Peru: Casa Mozart

Mannheim, Bruce (1986a) Popular song and popular grammar, poetry and metalanguage. Word 37, 45-75

Mannheim, Bruce (1986b) Poetic Form in Guaman Poma's Wariqsa Arawi. Amerindia 11, 41-57

Mannheim, Bruce (1987) Couplets and oblique contexts: The social organization of a folksong. Text 7, 265-288

Muysken, Pieter (1981), Spanish en Quechua in Ecuador. Tijdschrift voor Taal- en Tekstwetenschap 1: 124-138

Pagaza Galdo, Consuelo (1967) Cancionero Andino Sur. Lima, Peru: Casa Mozart

Roel Piñeda, J. (1959). Folklore Americano 6-7, 129-246

Poplack, Shana (1980), Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English Y TERMINO EN ESPANOL. Linguistics 18: 581-618

Poplack, Shana and David Sankoff (1984), Borrowing: the synchrony of integration. Linguistics 22: 99-136

Poplack, Shana, David Sankoff, and Christopher Miller (1988) Linguistics

Quijada Jara, Sergio (1957) Canciones del ganado y pastores. Huancayo, Peru: Villaeuva

Stevenson, Robert (1968) Music in Aztec and Inca Territory.

Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Treffers, Jeanine (1986), Code-switching en language contact in Brussel. Manuscript, Instituut voor Algemene Taalwetenschap van de Universiteit van Amsterdam

Uhle, Max and Antje Kelm (1968) Vom Kondor und vom Fuchs. Hirtenmärchen aus den Bergen Perus. Berlin: Mann

Weinreich, U. (1950) Di forshung fun mishsprakhike folkslider. Yivo-Bleter 34: 282-8

Yaranga, 44th Congress of Americanists, Manchester